

# **EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT** **ROUTING SLIP**

TO:

|          |           | ACTION | INFO          | DATE | INITIAL |
|----------|-----------|--------|---------------|------|---------|
| 1        | DCI       |        | X             |      |         |
| 2        | DDCI      |        |               |      |         |
| 3        | EXDIR     |        |               |      |         |
| 4        | D/ICS     |        |               |      |         |
| 5        | DDI       |        | X             |      |         |
| 6        | DDA       |        |               |      |         |
| 7        | DDO       |        |               |      |         |
| 8        | DDS&T     |        |               |      |         |
| 9        | Chm/NIC   |        |               |      |         |
| 10       | GC        |        |               |      |         |
| 11       | IG        |        |               |      |         |
| 12       | Compt     |        |               |      |         |
| 13       | D/Pers    |        |               |      |         |
| 14       | D/OLL     |        |               |      |         |
| 15       | D/PAO     |        |               |      |         |
| 16       | SA/IA     |        | X             |      |         |
| 17       | AO/DCI    |        |               |      |         |
| 18       | C/IPD/OIS |        |               |      |         |
| 19       | C/LA/DO   |        | X             |      |         |
| 20       | D/ALA/DDI |        | X (copy sent) |      |         |
| 21       | NIO/LA    |        | X (Copy sent) |      |         |
| 22       | ES        |        | X             |      |         |
| SUSPENSE |           | Date   |               |      |         |

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Remarks

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Executive Secretary

29 Oct 84

Date

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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October 27, 1984

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. DONALD P. GREGG  
Assistant to the Vice President  
for National Security Affairs

MR. CHARLES HILL  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

COL R. J. AFFOURTIT  
Executive Secretary  
Department of Defense

  
Executive Secretary  
Central Intelligence Agency

BG GEORGE JOULWAN  
Executive Assistant to the Chairman  
Joint Chiefs of Staff

MR. ALTON KEEL  
Associate Director for National Security  
and International Affairs  
Office of Management and Budget

AMBASSADOR HARVEY FELDMAN  
Washington Representative to the United States  
Representative to the United Nations  
Department of State

MR. C. WILLIAM LaSALLE  
Chief of the Executive Secretariat  
U.S. Information Agency

SUBJECT: NSC Meeting on Central America (S)

Attached is a State-prepared background paper for the subject meeting, which is now scheduled for 3:30 - 4:15 p.m. on Tuesday, October 30, 1984, in the Cabinet Room. (U)

  
Robert M. Kimmitt  
Executive Secretary

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Declassify on: OADR

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

October 26, 1984

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCPARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: NSC Meeting on Central America,  
October 30, 1984

Attached is a background paper for use at the NSC Meeting on October 30, 1984 as requested in your memorandum of October 24, 1984.

*Charles Hill*  
Charles Hill  
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

As Stated

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DECL: OADR

## PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ON NICARAGUAN ELECTIONS

### A. Plans to provide the facts to the US public

- S/LPD has prepared a report, "Resource Book: The Sandinista Elections in Nicaragua," which documents the undemocratic nature of the election. Advance copies are already being distributed to select journalists, and on October 29 it will be released formally. Copies will be transmitted to selected members of Congress who are likely to comment on the Nicaragua elections (Senate Foreign Relations Committee, House Foreign Affairs Committee, etc.), and sent to our general mailing list of government officials and influential opinion leaders around the country.
- S/LPD is preparing a compilation of statements on the elections by Sandinistas themselves, key political and church leaders in Nicaragua, and notable foreign leaders. This paper, translations of Bayardo Arce's speech to the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, and the FSLN's propaganda plan for the elections will be distributed to selected members of Congress, journalists and opinion makers.
- ARA is preparing a report comparing the Nicaraguan elections with those in El Salvador for release to the press and selected members of Congress.
- Administration officials will give background briefings and interviews to selected members of the press and seek opportunities to appear on the media to discuss the elections.
- S/LPD is preparing Public Diplomacy guidance on the elections for use throughout the government.
- We shall encourage non-USG experts to make public statements, prepare articles, and appear on media programs, especially immediately prior to and following the November 4, elections, e.g., the morning TV shows on November 5.
- Following the elections, S/LPD will prepare a follow-up report on the elections analyzing how the process unfolded, the meaning of the results, and the prospects for pluralism in Nicaragua's future.

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DECL: OADR

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**SUBJECT: Background Paper for NSC Meeting on Central America  
October 30, 1984**

The situation in Central America, particularly in El Salvador and in the regional peace talks, is moving in a direction favorable to U.S. interests, although difficult problems remain. In Nicaragua, the picture is mixed. Congressional failure to fund the armed opposition is a serious loss, but our handling of the Nicaragua election issue and Sandinista mistakes have shifted opinion against the sham elections. We have trumped the latest Nicaraguan/Mexican efforts to rush signature of an unsatisfactory Contadora agreement and the initiative is now with the Core Four, although the situation remains fluid and requires careful management.

This paper provides a summary assessment of issues raised in the NSC memorandum of October 24, 1985.

**CENTRAL AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS**

(1) U.S.-Nicaragua bilateral talks. Ambassador Shlaudeman has held six meetings with Vice Foreign Minister Tinoco. The seventh round is set for October 29-30. We tabled a comprehensive statement at the most recent meeting on September 25. Nicaragua's adoption of the September 7 Acta as its negotiating position at Manzanillo has virtually eliminated earlier Honduran concern that the Manzanillo talks might "undercut Contadora." To the contrary, it has led them to see that our bilateral talks strengthen the Core Four position within Contadora. Pursuant to Presidential decision, a key U.S. objective remains to help reinvigorate Core Four efforts in the Contadora process and to obtain a Contadora treaty which simultaneously implements the Contadora 21 Objectives and provides for effective verification. Reports and key documents on these talks since the NSPG meeting of June 25, 1984, include:

- Memorandum for Mr. McParlane from Mr. Hill September 28, 1984
- Calender of Reciprocal Steps, September 6, 1984
- Memorandum for Mr. Hill from Mr. Kimmitt, August 31, 1984

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-- Memorandum to the President from Acting Secretary Dam, August 21, 1984

-- Memorandum from Ambassador Shlaudeman to the Secretary, August 2, 1984

-- Memorandum from the President, July 28, 1984

-- Memorandum from the Secretary to the President, June 26, 1984

(2) Core Four Position on the Draft Contadora Treaty. We have effectively blocked Contadora Group efforts to impose the second draft of a Revised Contadora Act. Following intensive U.S. consultations with El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica, the Central American submitted a counterdraft to the Contadora states on October 20, 1984. It reflects many of our concerns and shifts the focus within Contadora to a document broadly consistent with U.S. interests. A copy of the new draft is being sent to each NSC agency, with English translation expected by the October 30 meeting. We will continue to seek Core Four support for these concerns expressed by us but not incorporated in the revised Core Four drafts. A survey of proposed Core Four changes is contained in Tegucigalpa 13080 and San Jose 8392.

The four Contadora Group Vice Ministers will meet in Panama October 31-November 1 for technical review of the Core Four drafts and revision of their own. Contadora Group Foreign Ministers would then meet November 9-10 to review recommendations of the Vice Ministers and all nine foreign ministers would meet in Brasilia at the time of the OAS General Assembly November 17. Contadora spokesmen have become notably subdued recently on prospects for an early signing. While some now concede that agreement may not be reached for some months, others remains concerned that early signature is desirable.

Secretary Shultz will discuss next steps in this process at the NSC meeting.

(3) Proposed U.S. Efforts to Obtain Guatemalan Cooperation in Contadora Process. The uncertain support of Guatemala for the Core Four is a continuing problem. Guatemala's chief security concern is its guerrilla insurgency and the sanctuary that it has, until recently, enjoyed in Mexico. Mexico's removal of the border refugee camps and the need for future cooperation provide a strong incentive pulling Guatemala toward Mexico in Contadora. We have undertaken intensive efforts with Foreign Minister Andrade and Guatemalan Chief of State Mejia on this issue. Illustrative of these efforts were the Secretary's October 10 meeting in Panama with General Mejia (Secto 12025), the Secretary's meeting with Andrade and other Core Four

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foreign ministers in New York on October 5 (State 298926) and President Duarte's efforts with General Mejia (San Salvador 11393 and Guatemala 10043). Serious personality problems between Honduran Foreign Minister Paz Barnica and Andrade continue to hamper efforts to keep the Core Four together. We will continue to exert strong pressure on Guatemala to support the basic Core Four position.

(4) Mexican and Nicaraguan Activity at the UN, OAS et al. Mexican and Nicaraguan representatives have been highly active but so far unsuccessful in efforts to obtain international endorsement for the September 7 Contadora draft. The Secretary was direct in expressing our displeasure at Mexican conduct at the UNGA (State 302056). Reports and actions relating to recent Nicaraguan/Mexican activity at the United Nations are contained in USUN 2845, 2763, 2884, and State 315605, 315894, 317226, 317605 and 317809. A summary report of the EC-Contadora Foreign Ministers conference is contained in San Jose 7644.

(5) U.S. Efforts to Help the Core Four. Covered under item (2) above. The following cables describe several aspects of recent U.S. efforts to help the Core Four countries secure acceptance of an acceptable draft: San Salvador 12140, Tegucigalpa 12799 and San Jose 8244.

(6) Any Plans for U.S. Signature of Documents. This requirement is unclear but presumably refers to the unauthorized backgrounding in Washington during the Secretary's last trip to the region that an agreement would be signed with Nicaragua in Mexico. That backgrounding was erroneous and unhelpful to U.S. interests. The Administration is on record in opposition to signing a Protocol, both in principal and specifically in the case of Contadora. We have attempted to prevent adoption of a Protocol that would be open to Cuban, Soviet or other unwelcome signatories. However, this continues to be an important concern.

(7) U.S. Expectations of Future Events and Strategy to Obtain an Acceptable Treaty. Secretary Shultz will address this question in his presentation to the NSC meeting.

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ABOUT THE NOVEMBER 4, 1984 ELECTION IN NICARAGUA

We have succeeded in returning the public and private, diplomatic focus back on the Nicaraguan elections as the key stumbling block to prospects for national reconciliation and peace in the region. The breakdown of the Cruz negotiations in Rio, corroboration by SI members that Arce backed away from the FSLN position once it became apparent that Cruz was prepared to seek approval of the Arce proposal, and the public acceptance

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by the Coordinadora of the Arce proposal have all contributed to this turn of events, as has Duarte's La Palma initiative. The PLI withdrawal from the elections has now left the Sandinistas holding a near worthless hand. An election held on November 4 will not give them the legitimacy they covet, although it will further consolidate Sandinista control over Nicaragua. Efforts continue to press the Sandinistas to postpone the elections and agree to Coordinadora demands.

Our public diplomacy strategy, approved by the NSC, is contained in Mr. Kimmitt's memorandum to Mr. Hill, dated October 24, 1984. A follow-up memorandum on the Nicaragua elections is attached.

Attachment: As stated.

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**B. Plans to Provide the Facts to the International Community**

- In selected OECD and ARA posts we will approach significant and knowledgeable national leaders, in and out of government, to encourage public statements condemning the Nicaraguan elections as they are now set up. Useful statements could come from government officials, political party leaders (including international parties, such as SI, EDU), intellectuals, church, and labor leaders.
- We will encourage selected U.S. political figures to contact their counterparts in Europe and Latin America asking that they (the counterparts) make public statements criticizing Nicaraguan elections.
- U.S. labor will contact counterpart organizations in Europe and Latin America seeking statements criticizing elections in Nicaragua as now set up.
- We will encourage sympathetic American intellectuals and academics to contact their counterparts in Europe and Latin America to examine the validity of the elections in Nicaragua, or to get their counterparts to let Nicaraguan leadership know (preferably through public statements or letters) that they are skeptical of the elections as now set up, that they have serious doubts about the elections now that the Coordinadora and PLI have withdrawn, and that they will be watching the elections closely both before and after November 4.
- We will follow up with the Vatican the recent statement condemning persecution of the Church in Nicaragua.
- Selected embassies in OECD and ARA countries will be asked to approach key contacts to review our views on the elections in Nicaragua. Media contacts should be encouraged to write editorials questioning the validity of the elections.
- Embassy Bonn will approach Willy Brandt to determine if he plans to make any public statements on the Nicaraguan elections now that the PLI has withdrawn from the campaign.
- USIA will send a fact sheet on Nicaraguan elections via the Wireless File to Europe and Latin America.
- VOA and Wireless File commentary will be sent using statements questioning the validity of the Nicaraguan elections made by European and Latin American leaders.
- VOA and Wireless File commentary will carry S/LPD - prepared backgrounder on Sandinista elections.

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- Wireless File will distribute Comandante Bayardo Arce's speech to the policy committee of the Partido Socialista de Nicaragua and other relevant material prepared by S/LPD.

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**WASHFAX RECEIPT**

THE WHITE HOUSE

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84 OCT 27 13:00

SITUATION ROOM

MESSAGE NO. **806** CLASSIFICATION **SECRET** PAGES **NINE**  
 FROM **ROBERT KIMMITT** WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM  
 (NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION **NSC MEETING ON CENTRAL AMERICA, OCTOBER 30, 1984**

| TO (AGENCY) | DELIVER TO:                                   | DEPT/ROOM NO.        | EXTENSION |
|-------------|---|----------------------|-----------|
| STATE       | CHARLES HILL/EXEC SECRETARY                   | DEPT OF STATE        |           |
| DOD         | COL R. J. AFFOURTIT/EXEC SECRETARY            | DEPT OF DEFENSE      |           |
| CIA         | [REDACTED] EXEC SECRETARY                     | CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE | 25X1      |
| JCS         | BG GEORGE JOULWAN/EXEC ASSIST TO THE CHAIRMAN |                      |           |
| STATE       | AMBASSADOR HARVEY FELDMAN/                    | REP TO THE U.S.      |           |

REMARKS **91096 sys log****SECRET**